FBIS-SOV-79-152
Monday
6 August 1979
Vol III No 152 Supp 022

Supplement

Daily Report

SOVIET UNION

MASHEROV ADDRESSES BELORUSSIAN PLENUM ON IDEOLOGY

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MASHEROV ADDRESSES BELORUSSIAN PLENUM ON IDEOLOGY

LD110901 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jun 79 pp 1-4 LD

[Text of 19 June report by R.M. Masherov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, at 18th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum in Minsk: "On the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organizations in Implementing the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Work'"]

[Text] Comrades:

Following the remarkable Leninist tradition of insuring that the molding of a scientific world outlook, profound ideological conviction and developed political consciousness in Soviet people is kept at the center of partywide attention and at the forefront of our paramount concerns, the CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Education Work." It amply and impressively reflects the invariably lofty purposefulness of the party's efforts in implementing its program tasks in molding the new person's personality and enriching the spiritual life of the entire people.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution, drawn up in development of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and on the basis of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's essentially important instructions on the further improvement of political education work at the stage of mature socialism, is a document which is truly a landmark in terms of its theoretical merits and political significance and in terms of the topical ideological problems which it covers.

Noting Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's immense and extremely fruitful personal contribution to the elaboration of the theory and practice of communist education and the problems of our society's further development and to the implementation of the Soviet state's purposeful foreign policy, it was with most profound satisfaction and a joyful sense of optimism that we greeted the news of Soviet foreign policy's inspiring new victory in Vienna. The unfailingly firm and consistent course steered under Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's leadership toward curbing the arms race, strengthening international security and insuring peace has culminated in the signing of a new Soviet-American SALT treaty. This cannot fail to engender, and indeed does engender, in the hearts of Soviet people good feelings of gratitude toward our party and strengthens confidence in the correctness of its Leninist course in domestic and foreign policy.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution which we are discussing is a graphic manifestion of that course, which is imbued with concern for the Soviet person and his all-round development. While taking as a basis comprehensive consideration of the achievements, experience and lessons of past and present political-educational practice, the resolution is wholly directed toward the future. This is the main essence of its content and thrust. Herein lies its tremendous inspiring and mobilizing strength. This determines the program nature of its propositions and conclusions, aims and recommendations.

Expanding beyond measure the horizons of our insight into topical problems in one of the most important sectors of the struggle for communism, the resolution orients party committees and organizations toward examining and evaluating all questions of ideological activity through the prism of the exacting requirements and lofty demands of the future and toward correlating the organization of the whole business of education with the future and subordinating it to the future.

Proceeding from this principled position, the CPSU Central Committee is advancing a key task to the forefront--the task of enhancing the efficiency and quality of the ideological-educational process--and is arming us and our cadres with the methodology of the comprehensive approach toward education and with a detailed plan for practical action in this direction. The party obliges us to utilize fully and in the best possible way the mighty socioeconomic, political and spiritual potential of mature socialism, the beneficial potential of the Soviet way of life, the existence of experienced, well-trained cadres and of the mighty agitation and propaganda apparatus, and also of other preconditions as the point of departure for intensifying the effectiveness and improving the forms and methods of ideological work and for overcoming weaknesses and shortcomings that exist in this work.

The new CPSU Central Committee document, like all other party documents, is permeated by an optimistic sense of faith in the inexhaustible creative and inventive strength of Soviet man--the pioneer of socialist civilization and active builder of communism. The entire system of organizational and practical measures contained in it is directed toward insuring the best possible conditions for the harmonious development, flourishing and realization of the abilities and gifts of each and everyone, for the consolidation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, for the growth of the individual's political culture and for the individual's labor and moral tempering.

I. Enriching Man's Spiritual World and Enhancing His Ideological Maturity

Comrades: Our party today, as always, considers the further development of the political awareness of the working people and the shaping in them of a scientific world outlook, high labor and political activeness and civic maturity to be of paramount importance in communist education.

Relying in its activity on the mighty strength of Marxist-Leninist theory, the CPSU is creatively and fruitfully developing this teaching on the basis of scientific analysis of the living experience of building socialism, as witnessed by the political and socioeconomic strategy of mature socialism and of its development into communism which has been comprehensively drawn up under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee and Comrade L.I. Brezhnev personally. The works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are published in massive editions. The system of general, specialized and vocational education and of the working people's political enlightenment is being developed and improved. The treasurehouse of Soviet spiritual culture is constantly being replenished by vivid new works. Everyone is offered limitless access to the riches of literature and art.

A distinctive trait of our time is the truly nationwide study of Marxism-Leninism, the mass campaign for new knowledge. In the political instruction system alone more than 1 million communists and Komsomol members are now studying each year, including 94 percent of those making up the republic's party organization and a large number of nonparty activists. Millions of people come within the scope of mass political propaganda and various forms of enhancing their qualifications. In political instruction the main accent is placed on study of problems of the present, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, CPSU history and legal questions connected with the propaganda and implementation of the new USSR Constitution's provisions.

In political enlightenment and other forms and types of education attention must continue to be directed above all at the profound study and, most importantly, the assimilation, consciously and spiritually, of the essence of the actual classic works of Marxism-Leninism, and of the works and speeches of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, that is, the party's theory and policy on whose basis Soviet people are creating a new society.

It is no secret that the effectiveness of education depends not only on what is studied but how it is studied. In this connection I should like to draw your attention to the following tendency. Many instructors at educational establishments, propagandists, and journalists cover in detail and analyze what has happened and what our people have experienced, but they noticeably skim the surface and at times lapse into abstraction when it comes to talking of the most important problems of the present time and of forthcoming tasks and things to be accomplished. Of course, the past has to be studied, especially by young people and it must be explained correctly and in depth. But the past must be studied in such a way as to insure that each person can visualize more fully, precisely and, what is most important, more practically, what he has to do today, what he will have to do tomorrow, in the immediate future and also in the longer term.

This is essential because our society is young and its entire being is oriented toward the future. This is essential so that through the active continuation and further enrichment of the glorious traditions of the party and Soviet people the gains of developed socialism can be augmented. Finally, Marxism itself, as V.I. Lenin observed, is characterized by the fact that it approaches social life "not merely in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of intrepid provision of the future and bold practical activity aimed at bringing it about..." ("Complete Collected Works" Vol 26 p 75). Prevision of the future and the ability to bring it closer through all socio-economic and social practice impart very great creative strength to our party's policy and to the activity of each communist and all Soviet people.

It is perfectly obvious that it is necessary to propagandize more vividly and broadly the prospects for the development of our country and republic without, of course, by-passing the complexities and difficulties of our movement forward, and it is necessary to reveal more fully the beauty and inspiring strength of the communist ideal. In the history of mankind there has never been, nor is there, more humane, finer or more real ideal than our communist ideal, and the way that Soviet people think and act must be attuned to this ideal as if to a tuning fork, and they must check themselves and others against this ideal.

In a word, the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, the nonparty aktiv and young people must be elevated to a higher qualitative level. It would seem essential that in July and August this year, that is, prior to the start of the new academic year, all party committees should exactingly and self-critically analyze the state of party and Komsomol instruction and of economic education, paying special attention to the profound study of the prime sources of Marxism-Leninism and of the works and biography of V.I. Lenin. After all the actual great life of Vladimir Ilich--that giant figure of theoretical thought and revolutionary action--exerts an ennobling influence on man. And therefore in every party organization and every labor collective the atmosphere created when launching preparations for the 110th birth anniversary of V.I. Lenin must be such that everyone, to use the poet's words, should purify himself for Lenin.

The second question connected with the whole system of education and upbringing is the development of the ability to dispose efficiently of the growing volume of knowledge and of the ability to embody it in living practice and thereby enrich it. I make no secret of the fact that we are alarmed by the viewpoint, still current in some places, that all tasks of the development of society and of the shaping of the individual can be solved by relying solely on increasing the volume of knowledge and on broadening the decree to which people are kept conversant with matters and well informed. [paragraph continues]

What we are saying is that certain propagandists and school and VUZ instructors are often content merely to convey knowledge more or less successfully to their audience and are less interested in how this knowledge is assimilated and what kind of shoots it puts forth in the sense of shaping convictions and of the direction that the actions of their audience and pupils take.

Is this not why in our life people are frequently encountered who are widely informed and whose heads, so to speak, are bursting with knowledge, but who can do little creatively and, what is still worse, are rather reluctant to embark on the difficult path of innovation. Knowledge is, of course, important and essential. Without it a person cannot work successfully, still less be a creator or innovator. We are talking here about the following aspect of the question, namely the ability to organically link accumulated knowledge with notions about real life, which is changing dynamically and requires not a standarized but a creative solution to questions that arise and, certainly, new knowledge.

The entire training and education process, including the political and economic education system, needs to be packed with the poetry of labor and the problems of social life. In all cases it is essential that people in order to strengthen their convictions, enhance their political culture, perceive in depth the humanist foundation of the Soviet way of life and experience an undiminishing interest in new knowledge and a desire for self-improvement. In political education it is necessary to intensify in every way the precisely targeted nature of instruction, which means not only giving one's audience knowledge but also skills and devoting this knowledge to people and enriching practical work with this knowledge. The personal responsibility of those actually studying under the party and Komsomol instruction system for the quality of any particular course that they follow and for the depth of the knowledge they acquire must be stepped up and strict verification of this knowledge must be introduced. The absence of any finite end to the education of communists can and must be understood as the necessity for them to constantly supplement their political knowledge and to enhance their readiness and ability to solve economic-political and ideological-educational tasks in a skilled manner and to a standard matching the requirements of the present time.

Equally close attention must be paid to the quality of the training process and to the teaching of social disciplines at general educational and vocational schools and in specialized secondary schools and VUZes. At the majority of educational establishments the party organizations and the collectives of teaching staffs have good plans in which everything is timetabled and in which everything would appear to have been provided for. A mass of diverse measures are pursued. Questions of ideological-educational work are discussed at party meetings and by teaching and educational councils. But sometimes all this has little effect, because stress in the education of young people, is laid on the quantity of measures and this is not at all the same thing as education itself. The disparity increases when the shaping of convictions is replaced by moralizing and commonplace pedagogic maxims. The most correct propositions can be endlessly declaimed but the effect will not be obtained from the instructional and educational process if the pupils do not join actively in independent work and in the regime of self-development and civic formation.

This explains many obvious flaws [izderzhk] in educational work at certain of the republic's educational establishments: the infantile nature of certain young people, the still prevalent narrow-minded sentiments, and the primitive understanding of obvious realities.

We all want to see in young people greater independence, maturity in their judgments, and beauty and harmony in their character.

But are families and teachers doing everything they can for this? Let us say bluntly that families create hothouse conditions for their children, their little darlings, fulfill their every whim and unwittingly promote the formation in them of consumerist manners and a free and easy attitude toward labor and social obligations. This is often attributed to the nature of certain adolescents, described as "hard to bring up." But such an explanation explains only one thing: There are no children who are hard to bring up but there are children who are being badly brought up by their parents and schools. Of course, the existence of bad [neblagopoluchnyy] families cannot be disregarded but the conclusion to be drawn from this should be that schools, educational establishments, and labor collectives must assume great concern for these families and children and above all must involve adolescents in socially meaningful activities, draw them into the various circles of technical and artistic creativity, get them to engage in sports and so forth.

A broad range of these problems was recently examined by us in the Belorussian CP Central Committee Bureau when we discussed the question of the work of Minsk party organizations and teaching collectives in educating pupils in a spirit of lofty socialist civicism.

The task is to insure that all the provisions and requirements of the resolution are fulfilled everywhere and in their entirety, paying particular attention to the molding of correct civic and class positions among young people and educating them in heroic and patriotic traditions and in constant readiness to defend the gains of socialism and the ideals of communism.

This paramount task of our entire ideological front must be resolved while taking into account external factors, primarily the nature of the sharply exacerbating struggle in the international arena. As the CPSU Central Committee resolution notes, imperialist propaganda--with which Beijing's chauvinists and aggressors are now openly collaborating--is ceaselessly conducting a fierce offensive against the minds of Soviet people and is striving with the aid of extremely sophisticated methods and technical devices to poison their consciousness by slandering Soviet activity, to malign socialism and to cosmeticize imperialism and its predatory inhuman policy and practice.

A paradox, never seen before, has emerged: The most inveterate repressers of working people's rights and freedoms, who deprive millions of their fellow citizens of the right to work, to education, to health care, to a roof overhead and frequently to life itself, portray themselves as zealous defenders of those rights and freedoms, and for their agents here they select people who are decadent, amoral, who have besmirched their honor and their conscience, who are mentally ill and whose ravings are put out as the last word in free-thinking.

Hypocritically citing the spirit of Helsinki, which is frequently violated in the West, they reproach us, for instance, for allegedly impoverishing ourselves and depriving our people of some kind of bourgeois plentitude by barring the way to a murky flow of so-called "mass culture" imbued and poisoned with vulgarity, amoralism, obscurantism and antihumanism. We did not need the dubious artifacts of this "culture" in the past, we do not need them now, and we will never need them. Socialism is the legitimate heir of all the best things created by progressive world culture and is the creator of the spiritual values of a supreme moral order which are valued and acknowledged at their worth by all honest people in the world. The world applauds our ballet, our music, or literature and our vocal, dance and depictive art. And the Soviet organizations which present them to foreign audiences and viewers have to overcome incredible difficulties and obstacles erected by the false patrons of the spirit of Helsinki.

Our scientists and propagandists must employ arguments to expose the ideological saboteurs, mischief-makers and poisoners of the atmosphere of international cooperation, resolutely wage an offensive against overt and covert enemies of socialism, peace and social progress and actively expose revisionism, primarily the frank and cynical opportunism which rightwing social democrats and the Maoists are presenting today. These are dangerous in themselves and also in connection with the fact that they are entering into a fiendish alliance with racism, imperialism and even fascism, just as Beijing is doing in flirting with the Pinochet junta.

An offensive struggle against hostile ideology does not mean merely exposing the hypocrisy and falsity of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda and the reactionary nature of imperialism. "...The greatest thing which gives us strength and makes our position in the ideological struggle really offensive," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted, "is the great truth of historical development which is on our side and which is shown precisely by us, by our socialist system, by our program of communist building and by the ideals for which we are fighting." Hence the primary obligation for workers in propaganda, publicistic journalism, the social sciences, literature and art is to show even more vividly and convincingly the bourgeoning of our society's material and spiritual resources, the greatness of communist creation and the nobility and purity of the Soviet people's thoughts and aspirations.

The Soviet people's ideological-political and moral qualities, loyalty to communist ideals and ability to promptly and reliably neutralize any ideological subversion are verified and tempered in the confrontation against the ideological opponent--and this is one form of the class struggle. Here it is important to display concern for the combination of great and unremitting political vigilance on the part of Soviet people with a situation in which they are soundly informed and knowledgeable about politics and theory. Only when you have learned to independently unravel important theoretical and political problems in the world arena can you, as V.I. Lenin noted, "consider yourself firm enough in your convictions and defend them successfully enough against anybody at any time."

Whenever we tackle the broad range of problems connected with shaping the ideological conviction and political competence of people the question arises of the skill of our propagandists, lecturers and all ideological cadres. We hold a multitude of seminars, meetings and conferences on these questions. Books and brochures about methodological skill are published. Obviously this work must be pursued further on that plane so as to be able to pick out better the persons with natural gifts and talents among the mass of propagandists, to encourage the noble activity of those who are politically mature in their thinking, can think on a broad scale and are capable of influencing people actively and carrying them along, to study the experience of this work in depth and to instruct in this experience all our organizers and activists in the sphere of party propaganda, political agitation and the mass media.

In conversations and published items concerning high educational skill, attention is attracted by how certain academics and ideological workers try very assiduously to persuade their fellow academics and ideological workers on how people should be educated. The advice and recommendations on this score, which have frequently come into being in offices and are repeatedly reiterated, have a patina of bureaucracy and, to put it mildly, seem no better than this implies.

In work with people you should not mill the wind and try to convince each other about things of which frequently you are already convinced; you must go out and talk directly with the population, with a wide range of people, and tell them frankly where they have succeeded really well and where they are patently falling short of their target or erring.

We have been convinced of the success of this approach through our own experience. Let me refer to a recent example. At the very height of the sowing campaign in many rayons in Mogilevskaya Oblast work in the fields would begin at 0900 or 1000 and that was when there was a most acute shortage of work time--despite long-established and full labor traditions in grain growing: namely, that you rise early in order to get a great deal done in the morning and in particular sow the seed as early as possible. The protracted morning "sleep-in" was seriously damaging to this matter: many sovkhozes and kolkhozes were late in carrying out the sowing. As you will remember, we addressed the people directly through the newspapers and over the air and appealed to their conscience and sense of honor. And this produced an effect. Mogilevskaya Oblast carried out the sowing better than other oblasts. I think that we would most likely not have achieved this effect had we taken the bureaucratic approach and started writing recommendations as to how and by what means the machine operators should be dragged from their morning "sleep-in."

There is yet another extremely serious defect in mass political work which I should like to talk about. It is mainly people who are the most progressive or the most laggardly in many respects who come within the field of view of those who organize education and especially the mass propaganda and information media. But the bulk of members of labor collectives find themselves in a sort of no man's land, as it were, and do not receive due attention. This practice does not stand up to criticism. After all, it is precisely these people who constitute the vast majority of our workers and do the bulk of all the work, and their contribution to the common success is of decisive significance. The majority of these people are honest people who conscientiously fulfill their work and their civic and patriotic duty. It is they who bore the brunt of the Great Patriotic War and the difficulties of postwar restoration. It is they who created the mighty potential of the society of developed socialism. And furthermore it is very important that it is precisely in the very midst of the basic section of our people that we can find colossal strength and potential for increasing production efficiency and the quality of labor and further boosting the economic and spiritual potential of socialist society.

It has to be admitted that even the work experience of stalwarts and of labor and production innovators and their moral complexion are not being generalized and revealed by us at the moment in all their fullness and attractiveness. Time and again in the coverage given to the best experience you encounter superficially, cliches and sketchiness and sometimes outright idealization and even the incorrect interpretation of various kinds of initiatives and innovations. Distinctive "records" have been set in this matter by the Orsha Gorkom, the Orshanskiy Raykom and their newspaper LENINSKI PRYZYW. The gorkom recently decided to approve the initiative of a group of people's deputies from the Legmash plant who had resolved to fulfill the target for the first half of this year ahead of schedule. The newspaper launched a broad campaign on this topic. But after all, in the republic and in Orsha itself, tens and hundreds of people had already fulfilled not only the 6-month targets but also the 5-year targets. Perhaps the hullabaloo was because people's deputies were involved? But by virtue of their very title, they are required to work in a shock fashion. Casting glances at the gorkom, the party raykom was not to be left out in the cold. It gave its approval to an appeal drawn up in the offices of the 1 Maya Kolkhoz, the Dnepr Sovkhoz and the No 14 Mobile Mechanized Column that a mass subbotnik be held on 21 April, and the aforementioned newspaper carried this appeal with great pomp. But after all, such subbotniks are a tradition of ours and they are held by all labor collectives. And this is what emerges: much ado about nothing and for nothing.

This practice--and many of our workers suffer from it, especially in newspaper and radio editorial offices--leads not only to work being depicted one-sidedly but also to the distortion of the actual state of affairs in particular labor collectives. The tendency toward window-dressing and the farfetched creation of initiatives, as has happened in Orsha, does not help matters but, on the contrary, renders the solution of our common tasks more difficult. Where criticism and self-criticism are disparaged and where there is a shortage of openness [glasnost] in public affairs direct damage is caused to the activeness of the masses. But it is precisely the activeness of the masses that provides the vast source of strength of our system and is an important means of solving both socioeconomic and educational problems.

The multifaceted nature of the working people's spiritual interests and needs and the growth of their political awareness and political culture have substantially enhanced the civic activeness of the population and its desire to know about everything and have intensified intolerance of existing shortcomings, including those in the sphere of education. All this facilitates both educational tasks and renders them more difficult. It facilitates them because our ideology is of a scientific nature and relies on the force of arguments and facts. It renders them more difficult because people now have higher demands with regard to the content of educational work, the standard of its execution and its forms and methods. Our ideologists have dealings with educated people who are socially active and who strive to form judgments about everything consciously and with a full understanding of the essence of the matter. Therefore the task that has now been brought to the fore--that of enhancing efficiency and quality--has a direct bearing on the sphere of ideological activity too. The high quality, media can be insured only if the logic of reasoning, the nature of arguments and the volume and timeliness of information--in a word, the entire content and all the forms of ideological work--accord with the contemporary level of a Soviet person's thinking and with his heightened level of education and culture.

In the light of these circumstances Belorussian CP Central Committee departments and party committees should analyze in depth the activity of our mass propaganda and information media. Insofar as newspapers, magazines, books, television and radio broadcasting have entered our daily life and virtually every home on a wide scale, some people are forming the impression that lectures, reports and political information sessions have become less necessary. This is not so. Nothing can replace a confidential talk, personal intercourse and spiritual links with people. The fact that the nature and content of oral utterances must now change is a different matter. It is not enough to lay down general truths from a speaker's platform and still less to communicate information that our people can read for themselves in newspapers and find out themselves from the radio and television. Without repeating what is common knowledge, lecturers, speakers and political information workers must reveal more fully and in greater depth the class roots and political background and significance of various social phenomena and processes and must insure that the necessary information, positions, viewpoints and arguments are suited as closely as possible to the particular specific audience, and as far as possible to each individual person. This is why the need for interesting lectures that are rich in content, nonformalized reports, competent commentaries and purposeful political information is increasing so much. All oral political agitation and propaganda activists must be taught and trained on this plane.

At the same time higher demands must be made of the mass media too. Frequent formalism, the tendency toward empty rhetoric, all kinds of cliches, the gray, bureaucratic style of material, the repeated, mechanical reiteration of common truths instead of creative attempts to convey their meaning and or a quest for lively and comprehensible forms are a major shortcoming which substantially reduces the effectiveness of their influence on people's consciousness and feelings. [paragraph continues]

In many publications, including scientific publications, theoretical generalizations and serious and thoughtful analysis which enriches the reader are replaced by pomposity and superficial pseudoscientific language, while the cogency of arguments and the confidential tone of a conversation with an audience are replaced by a didactic tone and bombastic phrases. All this should be resolutely eliminated from practice.

In increasing the responsibility and enhancing the skill of ideological cadres they ought to be led toward the profound, and I would say, the comprehensive analysis of the social practice and life of the labor collectives and toward direct, live work with people. Here the creation of new forms in education should be the least concern, but its content should be enriched and its ideological thrust and ability to produce results enhanced.

II. Developing Creativity and Innovation in Labor and Enhancing its Educational Efficiency

One of the determining features of the spiritual, ideological, moral complexion of the individual is his attitude toward labor. A dialectic interconnection exists here between the influence of political, educational work on a person's attitude toward labor and the tremendous educational strength of labor itself. Its place in life and in the system of a person's needs, and the motives and aims of labor activity are, in the final analysis, those criteria which determine the degree of development of the individual's political awareness and the degree of his ideological conviction and maturity. Therefore, the formation of a creative and conscious attitude toward labor for the common good has always been and remains, one of the most important directions of the party's ideological activity.

The development of socialism is invariably accompanied by the growth of the role and significance of labor as the main manifestation of man's vital activity. Having eliminated each and every form of exploitation and having firmly established a new organization of social labor, socialism has highly elevated labor's prestige and radically altered its nature, enriched it with the moral principles of collectivism and spiritualized it by lofty humanist aims. Whereas under conditions of private ownership of the means of production labor was for the vast majority a heavy burden, an obvious sacrifice to be made, and merely a method of insuring the wherewithall for existence, under conditions of socialism, where man has come to know the joy of the revolutionary creation of the new life and the happiness of working for himself and for his society, labor is transformed into a source of creativity and optimism. It acquires its true meaning by becoming the most important means of the all-round development of man, an expression of the very essence of the individual and of the individual's self-assertion, and a decisive criterion of the individual's social significance.

Our reality is setting increasingly complex and at the same time increasingly inspiring goals for social labor.

The solution of the tasks advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress and the implementation of the party's main course toward enhancing production efficiency and work quality demand not simply a conscientious attitude toward labor: There is an immeasurably greater need than before for initiative, daring, questing and creativity based not only on the worker's enthusiasm but also and above all on his broad culture, and mastery of modern scientific data and their use on a mass scale in production.

The party's and the people's struggle for the practical implementation of the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and for an abrupt change toward intensive facts of social production development has become a school for the ideological-moral tempering of Soviet people and a powerful stimulus for the development of their labor and political activity. [paragraph continues]

It is precisely through here that the main and key positions which link ideological activity with production now lie. Without the efficient influence of political-education work on economic practice we cannot solve the problem of production efficiency and work quality, because the main concept here depends in the final analysis on man, his life stance and his desire and ability to work--to work conscientiously and selflessly.

The intensification of the businesslike efficiency and concrete nature of propaganda and agitation, the strengthening of their link with life and with the solution of economic and political tasks which are demanded of us by the CPSU Central Committee resolution, presuppose the training of a person for labor, his attuning and orientation toward technical progress, toward the combination of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and toward the strengthening of discipline and high responsibility everywhere and in everything.

The feelings and qualities of a zealous master capable of seeking ever newer reserves and opportunities at his work station and at the same time capable of seeing the whole process in its entirety and of taking pains not only for his own results but also for the overall boosting of production must be actively nurtured in every worker. In shaping and honing these qualities in a worker, general compulsory economic education, which more than 2 million persons in the republic have undergone, has an exceptionally great role to play. But this general compulsory education is not complete either quantitatively or, especially, qualitatively. Economic education must be directed in every way toward the development of a worker's creative potential and innovation, toward the search for reserves, above all through the more productive use of work time and equipment, the saving of energy and of raw and semi-finished materials, and toward the study of advanced production experience and ways of enhancing work efficiency and quality. It must teach workers to think and act in an economically competent fashion and to perform economic management zealously.

While improving even further the training of the working people in the laws and methods of socialist economic management, efforts should be made to insure that the enhancement of production efficiency and of the quality of all work becomes the profoundly personal concern of each worker. It should be revealed more convincingly and vividly that each step along this path, together with the boosting of production itself, changes and enriches the content of labor and makes it increasingly attractive and an ever more powerful source of moral satisfaction. The role of the information media here is exceptionally great. The press, television, radio and forms of mass propaganda must seek and find increasingly effective ways and forms--capable of reaching the mind and heart of every reader or listener--of ennobling labor, enhancing its prestige and revealing its decisive significance for strengthening the might of the Soviet power [derzhava] and achieving the party's program aim--insuring a high degree of well-being and happiness for our people. At the same time it is very important to reveal broadly, fully and in detail the role of labor in improving man himself. May all our people, and above all each young man and woman taking their first steps in independent life, realize that without participation in socially useful labor it is impossible to live or improve one's nature and that only labor for the benefit of the fatherland can elevate a person to the pinnacles of perfection, reveal his talents and abilities and give him broad scope for development.

The notion which is current here and there that under the conditions of scientific and technical progress labor will not require any particular strenuous application of effort but will be transformed into a "button-pressing" process, if one may use that term, must also be resolutely debunked. [paragraph continues]

This is a most dangerous delusion. Really free and really creative labor, to use the words of K. Marx, "is a devilishly serious business and means the most intense application of effort" (K. Marx and F. Engels. "Works", Vol 46 Part 11, p 110). But it is precisely work demanding total selflessness, which yields fruits worthy of man and brings an inspiring and uplifting sense of the fullness and joy of life.

Our literature and art are also required to work considerably more actively in this direction. Man at labor--is this not the most noble and beneficial field for creative questing for the creation of broad artistic canvases which might serve the great cause of shaping a communist attitude toward labor by revealing its mighty creative strength and poeticizing it?!

In a word, we are required and obliged to glorify labor by all the means available to us. But that is not enough. People must be prepared for labor earnestly, fundamentally and consistently. We shall not be sinning against the truth if we say that socially immature people and all kinds of quasi-craftsmen and near-experts with dormant creative abilities which, if these people are not taught how to work, will degrade altogether, originate primarily among those who from their youth have not been trained to labor and who from their schooldays have become accustomed to do everything haphazardly and any way.

Labor education must start from a person's first steps in this world and above all from his attitude toward learning. There is a vast scope for work here for our teachers and for the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations. They are required to shape in schoolchildren a profound vital need for knowledge, nurture an attitude toward study as a civic duty and at the same time combine training with productive labor more persistently and consistently. Only with that kind of organization of the matter will a person leave school with a firm knowledge of the fundamentals of science, with an ability to study and labor, having mastered any particular specialist work skill.

Party committees, soviets and public education organs, in accordance with resolutions adopted earlier by the Belorussian CP Central Committee and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, must complete in the next 2 years work on the creation of interschool training and production combines which are designed to insure that pupils in the senior grades of all secondary schools both in the cities and in the countryside may obtain on the basis of these combines initial vocational and labor skills with an adequately broad choice of those specialities which the country's national economy and the republic's economy need. Much work also has to be done on enhancing the quality and efficiency of the training of workers' cadres in the system of vocational and technical education. The main factor is to more firmly combine training everywhere with the achievements of scientific and technical progress and with advanced production and technological practice so as not to repeat at study sessions with young people the commonplaces of the past.

The problem of labor education is, of course, not restricted merely to the sphere of school. As V.N. Stoletov, president of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, asserts, as before "85 percent of families are steering their children toward acquiring a higher education, in these same families, 35 percent of children do not fulfill any labor obligations at all and a mere 30 percent of children perform duties at home on a partial and occasional basis. Thus, considerably more than half the children are removed from the beneficial influence of labor." I believe that this quite sad practice in family upbringing is by no means the exception for us either. There is food for thought here for parents, schools and party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs. [paragraph continues]

The obvious omissions and shortcomings in family-labor and moral upbringing must be immediately compensated for by the better organization of this work in children's preschool establishments, and educational establishments of all kinds and, of course, our ideological influence on the family as the primary cell of society must be sharply intensified.

What should be done? Both in rural and urban schools in particular it is necessary to persistently perfect through practical work all elements of the system of socially useful labor for pupils, determining for each class and group of adolescents an area of specific labor activities. We must solve this task practically without leaving a single child or single pupil outside the sphere of collective labor, remembering that there is absolutely no substitute for education in the labor collective. Throughout their training, children must study and work, engage in sports, develop their abilities and talents in various forms of technical and artistic creativity, and produce things of material value in the process of socially useful and productive labor.

Much is already being done in this direction. The task is to sharply increase the efficiency of the system of labor education for schoolchildren which is being created. What is its main shortcoming? It lies in the fact that labor training still frequently remains for many schoolchildren not real labor but merely playing at labor. Matters must be organized in such a way that young people master in earnest workers' skills at a level in keeping with contemporary social production, that from their young years they feel, come to know, and master through their own experience the real complexities and true joy of productive and useful labor, that they become aware of and develop in themselves those traits of character and those moral qualities which are necessary in order to pursue a labor-oriented way of life that is worthy of the society of developed socialism and worthy of Soviet man.

Education in labor and by labor and the enhancement of its educational effectiveness in every way require the constant improvement of the practice of economic management. Every hour of every day life itself offers graphic proof of the tremendous influence of economic decisions on the spiritual world and moral health of our people and on their labor and political activeness.

The educational significance of labor increases immeasurably in well-organized production where a spirit of creativity reigns, where a precise and strict labor rhythm is sustained always and in everything, where high discipline and constant concern for satisfying state and public interests is an immutable and permanent norm of conduct. The remarkable qualities of socialist labor as a totally incomparable and irreplaceable educator and skilled sculptor of a creative and socially active individual are revealed most fully under such conditions.

It is precisely for this reason that the best production collectives constantly engender in their minds genuine heroes of labor in whose moral complexion are inseparably fused high professional skill, a sense of duty, a proproletarian attitude toward production and effective concern to insure that our Soviet motherland becomes more beautiful and richer day by day.

Take for instance the Minsk automatic flow lines plant which is well known far beyond the republic and which plays a leading role in the technical reequipping of many of the country's most important enterprises. The high technical standard and durability of the product have earned the plant a good reputation. [paragraph continues]

And what a constellation of splendid workers' talents has been born in this collective! Hero of Socialist Labor K. P. Salenik, a grinder who was a delegate to the 25th CPSU Congress and is a member of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Belorussian SSR state prizewinner A. V. Filich; honored machine builder of the Belorussian SSR, turner and reamer I. V. Kurbatskiy; and advanced workers tuner G. P. Shapovalov and fitter and assembler I. D. Biryuk work here. Also working there are honored rationalizer of the Belorussian SSR, planing machine operator L. I. Potapovich, who has to his credit 140 very valuable inventions and suggestions which have been used in production, and also many other genuine labor guards.

So what is it that engenders at this enterprise such an abundance of innovators and advanced workers who fire the collective's enthusiasm and lead it to new summits? Above all it is the sense of duty, the spirit of creativity which permeate the life and work of the plant's workers just as of many other of our best collectives. Here the statesmanlike approach to the matter is constantly developed and everyone--from worker to director--is concerned not just about his own production indicators but also about his contribution to the common cause of the Soviet people, about the ultimate national economic effect of his activity--about how the product created serves the development of the entire country and the satisfaction of the needs of all the people.

Life repeatedly convinces us that one is educated not only by the actual labor process but to a considerable extent also by the atmosphere in which the labor process takes place. As the experience of many of our illustrious enterprises attests, a genuinely civic-minded interest in the results of labor promotes both production successes and the moral maturation of collectives when in day-to-day work and in the daily labor routine the most important life stance of Soviet people--that of creators and producers--is manifested weightily and visibly.

A vivid token of such collectives is their ebullient social life, the living fire of socialist competition which reflects as in a mirror the degree of our successes in educating an individual of a communist type. Relying broadly on the political and labor activeness of the masses, the advanced collectives use it as a powerful force for the development of socialist production and for the moral ennoblement of man and this illumines new facets of human character, educates people with a high sense of duty and elevates them to broad participation in production management and in the running of public affairs.

Competition is now, as it were, undergoing a second birth. Its mass nature has increased extraordinarily. In the republic it covers virtually all workers in social production and it is spreading more and more broadly in scientific and cultural establishments. About half these competitors are participants in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. In accordance with the demands of the 25th CPSU Congress and of CPSU Central Committee plenums, a reorientation of competition is taking place. It is now increasingly placing at the focus of attention not simply the attainment of individual high quantitative indicators but the maximally efficient, highly-organized and well-coordinated work of vast production collectives. In other words, the enhancement of the standard of economic management, production efficiency and the quality of work and the guaranteeing of economic growth through intensive factors are moving to the fore. This approach sharpens attention toward the study and generalization of advanced experience and demands higher skills, greater knowledge and a more developed sense of civic responsibility in all participants in competition. The fruitfulness of this approach lies in the fact that, by making new and heightened demands of a worker, it leads him forward, awakens him, intensifies his creative principles and civic qualities and promotes the transformation of labor into a sphere of creativity and innovation.

Experience attests how important it is not to separate production, social, and educational tasks from each other but to solve them in organic unity. Not so long ago, at a seminar in Minskaya Oblast, leading cadres of the republic familiarized themselves with the advanced practice of solving social questions in the countryside. Each one could see for himself what a tremendous economic and educational effect is produced by measures aimed at improving the conditions of labor and everyday life and at combining agricultural production with culture in the broadest sense of the word. While predetermining profound changes in the character of labor and in the conditions of life of the rural workers, these measures at the same time insure a substantial enhancement of social production efficiency.

Since the CPSU Central Committee March (1965) Plenum, the republic's agriculture has scaled new heights. The yield of grain crops increased from 7.1 quintals per hectare in 1964 to 25.4 quintals last year. In comparison with 1965 grain and milk production increased 2.2 times, meat production 2.7 times, and egg production 7.4 times. State grain purchases increased 4.7 times and livestock and poultry purchases 2.7 times, while purchases of milk and potatoes doubled.

These are the weighty fruits of the CPSU's agrarian policy, the remarkable results of our efforts to strengthen the material-technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, develop chemicalization, insure broad scope of land reclamation work and raise the standard of agriculture as a whole. But the main thing which has insured the upsurge in the republic's agriculture is our people, their responsible attitude toward this business, their strenuous labor and their great interest and confidence in the achievement of high indicators.

The labor of the machine operator, who has become a central figure in agriculture, has captivated tens of thousands of rural people and in this labor, which in terms of its nature has been renovated, thousands of remarkable workers have been formed who are veritable experts in their own sphere, selfless workers with a high sense of their civic responsibility and a genuinely statesmanlike way of thinking who know not only how to labor highly productively but also how to pass on to others their experience and their attitude to this business. This, for instance, is what Vasiliy Yakubov, a machine operator on the Kirov Kolkhoz, Checherskiy Rayon, writes: "What I still don't like is being cast in the role of a lone master. People say that I am adroit, skillful, and that no one can hold a candle to me. I love fine work in general and I rejoice when I see others succeed. Therefore I always try to surround myself with young people, for they most of all need my advice and experience. My idea of pedagogics is straightforward: 'Do as I do!'--and that is all there is to it. And you know it works quite well. I don't know how many kids have worked alongside me, but they have all become good masters of their trade."

Such people are a great and veritable miracle. They are our most valuable possession both in production and in our educational work. They are genuine experts in worker-pedagogics. Through their example and with their help we are obliged to shape workers who will feel themselves to be genuine masters of the country, to nurture creators and innovators who know how not to shirk difficulties and who occupy at all times and in everything a militant, attacking and active life stance.

We are faced with tasks which are not only large-scale but also extremely complex and very difficult. For the third year in succession we are encountering serious difficulties in agriculture--objective difficulties caused by unfavorable weather conditions. However, we must not complain about these conditions, still less use them to explain breakdowns in the production of agricultural products. Our republic is located in a zone of great and highly unfavorable meteorological anomalies. This means that it is useless and impermissible to passively await favorable circumstances. It is incumbent on us to work successfully in the difficult conditions which are typical for us. Our land is ours, for all its low natural fertility. And it is our weather, however severe it may be. [paragraph continues]

Moreover, the level of provision of material and technical resources which has now been achieved in the countryside and the knowledge and experience our people possess make it possible in general to neutralize the effect of unfavorable factors, to insure a high level of production despite them and to consolidate this position.

This year our agriculture has been in a particularly complex. The persistence of dry and hot weather and the combination of soil and air drought over the last month have led to a significant deterioration in the state of sown crops over the greater part of the republic's territory. This threatens serious losses in the production of grain and other agricultural products. But however unpleasant the situation may be in terms of possible consequences, we must not dramatize it and fall into despondency in the face of difficulties. We must be staunch, we need the most energetic and urgent large-scale actions to reduce as much as possible the negative consequences of the dry weather. A program of such actions is set out in the Belorussian CP Central Committee and Belorussian Council of Ministers 4 June resolution "On Urgent Measures in the Republic's Agriculture in Connection With the Difficult Weather Conditions." The set of measures elaborated in this document takes on particular significance in connection with the fact that by virtue of the continuing drought the situation in the republic's fields is deteriorating still further.

The questions naturally arise: How is the fulfillment of this resolution being organized, is everything being done to avert trouble and minimize the consequences of the drought?

As a check indicates, in a number of places this work is taking place without the necessary scope, without the intensity which is necessary at the present time. It is being carried out as if it was a question of usual, ordinary conditions, usual ordinary tasks. And this means that the work is being carried out from profoundly erroneous positions and not at the pitch required by a situation where emergence from the situation which has arisen depends only on our actions and on their vigor, effectiveness and purposefulness.

The unusually serious situation demands from our cadres and from all working people a profound awareness of the very exceptional nature of the conditions we must operate in, full effort by our forces, efforts of a special nature and a frontline style of work. The people's completely understandable feelings must be directed into well-organized, accurately aimed actions directed at the complete and unconditional implementation of the measures dictated by the interests of the task and by the extraordinary nature of the circumstances which have arisen.

The experience of leading farms teaches us that the stability of our cropgrowing and its ability to resist all adversities are determined primarily and chiefly by the abundant fertilization of the land with organic fertilizers. It is those farms which follow this path which have obtained good harvests in rainy years and can count on a satisfactory harvest in this year of drought. Thus increasing the production and application of organic fertilizers--not, seemingly, a new measure, but a habitual and ordinary one--in our conditions becomes an extraordinary measure of exceptional importance in averting losses due to the whims of the weather in the future.

All our efforts must now be aimed at insuring, despite the objective difficulties, the procurement of a quantity of fodder guaranteeing the maintenance of the numbers of livestock and the fulfillment of plans for the production of livestock products next winter. Stockraising is a leading commercial sector of the republic's agriculture. And whereas a shortfall in cropgrowing produce, however large, can be made good and we will make it good by a good harvest the following year, possible breakdowns in stockraising, particularly those associated with reducing stock numbers, cannot be compensated for in a single year. [paragraph continues]

It takes a number of years, and in the future, if such a decline is permitted, it will have a negative effect both on the development of cropgrowing and on the fertility of our land.

In this situation fodder is the decisive condition for averting pernicious consequences of the drought for stockraising and for agriculture as a whole. Fodder means meat and milk. Fodder also means organic fertilizers, the elixir of life for our land, their fertility and their ability to withstand any and all weather anomalies in the future. And that is why the key task, on which our forces must be launched today, is the full exploitation of all possible sources of fodder procurement.

Despite the expected shortfall in cropgrowing output, we have the real opportunity to emerge from the difficulties engendered by the drought with the smallest possible losses by making maximum use of the major additional source of accumulating fodder in our forests and in marshes, from where at least 5 million tons of green grasses and deciduous tree branches are as good as meadow grasses in terms of nutritional properties, but their procurement requires a great expenditure of manual labor. That is why the participation of every person and his help in this vitally important cause is now more necessary than ever before. It is necessary to raise the entire able-bodied population without delay and organize a general campaign for fodder procurement.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee and republic government appeal to kolkhoz members and workers and employees of sovkhozes, industrial enterprises and organizations, technical college students and secondary school pupils, and village and city inhabitants and the entire adult population to take the most active part in procuring fodder in wooded, swampy and scrub land. We reckon and hope that at least 800,000 people will take part in this work every day over the course of 6-8 weeks.

[Editorial report LD] Belorussian obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and oblispolkoms, gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms must insure the efficient and effective leadership of the course of fodder procurement and the precise organization of all practical work linked with rendering aid to kolkhozes and sovkhozes from the industrial enterprises, educational establishments and other organizations.

The correct use of potatoes must become an important fodder reserve. In contrast to previous years the entire potato harvest, except for that part earmarked for food purposes, seeds and the emergency stock, must be ensiled in steamed form. This will increase the effectiveness of the use of potatoes as fodder for livestock and will make it possible to prevent the losses inevitable when they are stored by the traditional method. For the timely solution of this important task it is necessary even now to embark on the preparation of the necessary quantity of lined capacities for silaging, feed steamers and other equipment and to teach people the procedure for producing high-quality fodder from potatoes.

Party organizations, the press, television and radio and political information and agitation workers must reveal, in a comprehensible form, the scale, nature and significance of all this work and shape in every worker a conscious, creative attitude toward matters, a sense of personal responsibility for the unconditional fulfillment of fodder procurement plans and plans for the production of cropgrowing and stockraising output. It is necessary to insure the correct placement of communists and Komsomol members in the decisive work sectors and the rational use of manpower and material resources.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee and the Belorussian Council of Ministers adopted a resolution of 15 June this year on these questions giving all the necessary recommendations for the solution of the urgent tasks facing us. [paragraph continues]

It is now a case of carrying out the entire complex of forthcoming work everywhere without the slightest delay, of supplying livestock raising with fodder and bringing in the harvest we have grown in good time.

We are confident that all ministries and departments without exception, having determined their place and role specifically, will take the most active part in this nationwide matter.

We have no doubt that party organizations, soviet and agricultural organs, Komsomol members and young people and all workers in our villages and cities will do as much as possible and display a truly proprietorial attitude toward the matter, hold out in the face of difficulties, resolve the tasks facing us and win the battle against the elements.

Workers in industry and construction have to resolve complex problems. The main one is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production and the improvement of its technical standard. This is the correct and true path for enhancing production efficiency and further intensifying production. At the same time it is a very major social and educational problem whose solution insures a reduction in manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor, the development and growth of creative elements in labor, and the enrichment of the content of labor on the basis of scientific and technical progress and creates favorable conditions for man's vocational and moral improvement in the production sphere.

In fulfilling the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress the republic's party, soviet and economic organizations do not overlook these problems. In their solution considerable significance attaches to targeted comprehensive programs aimed at accelerating the rate of mechanization and automation of the production processes covering the majority of our industrial enterprises.

Nonetheless we cannot be satisfied with the progress in this very important area of economic and social development. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan the number of manual workers in industry fell by only 13,700 and in 1978 totalled 276,000 or almost 32 percent of all workers within the range of enterprises covered by targeted planning. Even when the planned programs are fulfilled in 1980--and this must be done come what may--over 253,000 people will be employed in manual labor in industry.

The proportion of manual labor in the system of the ministries of local industry, the timber industry, procurements and rural construction is being reduced only slowly. It remains great at Belorussian enterprises in the meat and dairy and food industry. Since the start of the 5-year plan the proportion of workers employed in manual labor at a number of machine building plants has not only been reduced but has even increased. A considerable share of capital investments in production mechanization and automation continue to be channeled into basic production. But production's rear services, in which about 40 percent of industrial workers work and where the return could be greater, remain an enclave of manual labor with all the ensuing economic and social consequences.

The large amount of manual labor at some new enterprises because of unskilled planning decisions, uncompleted construction work and an uncomprehensive approach to the erection of projects is particularly intolerable. Newspapers and television, lecturers, speakers and political information workers are constantly being asked about the prospects of reducing heavy manual labor. Workers in industry, construction and agriculture are demanding radical changes in this business. Nonetheless individual leaders are quite unable to understand the fundamental importance of the solution of these problems.

In all sectors of the national economy questions of the improvement of the conditions of labor, its mechanization and automation must be the focus of attention of party organizations and labor collectives. The searching thought and skillful hands of the rationalizers, inventors and all workers must be enlisted to solve them.

The consolidation of planning discipline, the shaping of an attitude whereby the plan is regarded as a law whose fulfillment is strictly compulsory for one and all, is a major economic and educational problem.

Unfortunately, the nonfulfillment of plans still remains a quite widespread phenomenon. Every year 6-7 percent of industrial enterprises do not meet the plan for the sale of output and 10-12 percent do not meet the labor productivity plan. There are also many such enterprises among kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In this case the successful work of many collectives and their fulfillment of their targets goes not to directly supplement state resources but to cover the arrears of those who are not properly concerned for the interests of society. And this is a question of a principled political and moral order: Do certain economic leaders and specialists intend to remain in a position of unique dependence for long? Judge for yourselves. In the first 5 months of this year above-plan industrial output worth R133.3 million was produced in the republic. At the same time 166 enterprises recorded a production shortfall of over R36 million and thus reduced the possible volume of the overfulfillment of the plan by our industry and our contribution to the country's resources.

Mainly because of serious [illegible]ions in production management and organization, the plan for the first 5 months was underfulfilled by a number of machine tool building and petrochemical enterprises. An acute situation has taken shape at enterprises in the Belorussian Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry where the lag which has been allowed means that the production growth rate must be increased to 8.5 percent in the second half of the year to fulfill the year's plan. At most of the industrial enterprises of the construction ministries a blatantly abnormal situation has existed for a long time--the plans for the sale of output and for labor productivity growth have not been fulfilled for a number of years now. And the ministries have still been unable to elaborate their position and take steps to improve the work of the lagging enterprises.

The unsatisfactory course of the fulfillment of the labor productivity growth plan for the republic as a whole is causing special concern. In the first 5 months of this year 166 industrial enterprises failed to cope with the targets for this indicator. An unsubstantiated increase in the planned number of workers is continuing. In April this year it was already 3,700 more than initially established while in Minskaya Oblast and Minsk City it was 3,300 more and in Mogilevskaya Oblast 1,200 more. As a result labor productivity in the republic's industry has risen only 4.5 percent instead of the planned 5 percent and 56 percent in accordance with the pledges for the year.

This violation of state discipline is intolerable. The Belorussian ministries and departments, obkoms and oblispolkoms must, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the results of industry's work over the period of the year under review, elaborate and implement steps to liquidate the lag which has been allowed and to fulfill unconditionally this year's plans and pledges.

The party and soviet organs must enhance their exactingness toward the economic leaders and raise their personal responsibility for the unconditional fulfillment of the state plans.

It is particularly disgraceful when an indifferent attitude is displayed toward the matter by those who, by virtue of their job, must safeguard the state's interests and organize the fulfillment of state plans. [paragraph continues]

Here is a highly indicative example. In the first quarter of this year Pukhovichskiy Rayon failed to fulfill the state milk and meat procurement plans. The rayon newspaper, STSYAG PRATSY, published an editorial entitled "Why Is our Rayon Lagging?" Rightly sounding the alarm and correctly noting that, if the leaders of many kolkhozes and sovkhozes and of the agricultural administration had not merely recorded the difficulties of the wintering period on paper but had enhanced the specialists and workers responsibility and made fuller use of existing opportunities, matters could have been considerably improved. Comrade A.L. Kunitskiy, chief of the rayon agricultural administration, reacted as follows to the newspaper's just comment in a note to the newspaper's editor (I will quote his message verbatim, keeping entirely to his spelling): "To Comrade A.B. Isachenko. I believe the facts set forth in the article relating to the agricultural administration to be untrue, and there is no need to give a reply." [the Russian contains several grammatical errors]

As you can see, the essence of the matter has been thrust aside and the fact that the plans have failed is ignored. He also shows a total lack of comprehension of his responsibility for planning discipline and for the state of affairs in the rayon kolkhozes and sovkhozes. After all, shortcomings are not as dangerous as a conciliatory attitude toward them. And the position of the Pukhovichskiy Raykom, which failed to make a proper assessment of the shameful escapade of the presumptuous bureaucrat and total suppressor of criticism, is therefore utterly incomprehensible.

It must be remembered that unconsidered decisions, bungling or bureaucratism on the part of individual workers leading to the point where obvious real opportunities are not used or labor, public resources and valuables created are not used not only cause direct material damage but also dampen people's enthusiasm and creative activeness and sometimes lead to individual corruption. Persisting instances of overreporting and misrepresentation, when attempts are made to conceal an inability to organize by using all sorts of fraudulent machinations and tricks, are a special danger on this plane. As a rule, people of this sort draw a large circle of workers into the orbit of their antistate actions and literally corrupt them. Thus, V.I. Iorin, former director of the Mogilev elevator building plant, for 2 years when the output sales plan was being underfulfilled, gave instructions to the sales and finance section chiefs to exaggerate figures by fabricating dispatch documents. While 166 elevators were dispatched during this period, a further 131 elevators were included in the figures, worth a total of R811,260. These additional elevators were produced considerably later than the set deadlines but, by fraudulent manipulation of the returns, over R120,000 was actually stolen from the state in the form of bonuses.

This, like other similar cases, caused the state considerable material damage and did untold moral harm to people's education.

Our party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and people's control organs must tighten up the struggle to introduce in every labor collective order of the kind which renders impossible any violation of discipline whatever, great or small.

This also affects very important problems like insuring high output quality, the liquidation of working time wastage and the strictest economy with raw materials and other supplies. In the republic's industry alone last year 987,600 man-days were wasted. As a whole, this waste was somewhat lower than the previous year, but as you can see this is still a quite substantial amount. [paragraph continues]

It is most alarming that there has been an increase in absenteeism and administrative leave, which sometimes conceal serious shortcomings in the planning and the organization of production and education work and a conciliatory attitude toward idlers and loafers.

It is just as important to introduce order into the system of incentives for workers, since injustice and lack of objectivity in assessing their work have a negative influence on people's mood and behavior. It is no secret to anyone that incorrect fixing or norms in many collectives and poorly substantiated material incentive systems frequently weaken the incentive value of work payments. Practice shows that increased working efforts and real contribution to society's wealth are by no means always the basis for every bonus or occasional wage supplement. There are many questions involved here. For instance, why does an enterprise which has failed to fulfill the plan receive a full wage fund? Why do blatantly obsolete norms remain unrevised for years?

Since the principle of payment in accordance with work, for work done and not for a person's occupation of a post or job, operates unshakably in our country, work payment must naturally accord fully with its actual result. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "wages everywhere must be EARNED and every worker must feel that his wages depend directly on his contribution to the collective's production successes."

Our ministries and departments and labor collectives must work thoroughly to insure that material and moral incentives operate effectively and are not devalued, that they operate to strengthen our moral principles and not against them. Payment in accordance with labor, in accordance with its quantity and quality, is an honest, highly moral, socialist principle which must be followed unconditionally.

Moral labor incentives must be developed still more actively using diverse means of encouragement for highly efficient work. It is important here that moral encouragement be sensitive not only to the direct results of a worker's labor but also to the motives which guide him and to his moral nature.

The party organizations must head the movement for every person's exemplary execution of his duties, for truly socialist efficiency, for unconditional observance of the strictest socialist discipline in planning and the fulfillment of plans, in the management of the economy, in technology and throughout the production process.

III. Improving People's Moral Education

Comrades: Our party's attention is invariably centered on concern for the comprehensive development of the individual and aspiration to create a moral atmosphere in every collective which promotes the assertion in all spheres of life of a respectful and attentive attitude toward man, trust and a spirit of real comradeship coupled with strict responsibility.

We have recorded appreciable and weighty achievements in this direction. The absolute majority of our people see it as their supreme moral duty and vocation to wage a selfless and active struggle for communism, for the implementation of communist ideals and for the exemplary execution of their social and civic obligations.

Let us continue. Take the mailbags of party committees, soviet organs and newspaper, television and radio editorial offices. Two-thirds and sometimes more of the working people's letters are connected in one way or another with the assertion and maintenance of a healthy moral climate within labor collectives and in the spheres of work and daily life. [paragraph continues]

Although this mail still includes many letters about instances of rudeness, indifference, parasitism, cynicism and other amoral manifestations, this does not mean that they have become more frequent in life. It is simply that our people by virtue of their moral-political maturity, tolerate less and treat with greater principle and implacability various types of dishonorable conduct, dishonesty and individualism.

There is a natural law here. Positive emotions play an increasingly large part in the development of our people's intellect and the growth of their spiritual world. Man demands moral comfort, so to speak. This, on the one hand, directly reflects the essentially progressive most humane system of moral norms and values which was formed in our society. On the other hand, we must make the party and public attitude a hundred times keener toward behavior which darkens our skies and which undermines instead of strengthens the moral health of individuals and even collectives. This involves callousness, rudeness, indifference and any other coarse behavior still encountered in certain notary offices, cadre sections, workshops and stores as well as the attitude of some leaders toward people, simply as one person to another.

I am quite unable to forget an instance I observed in Lelchitskiy Rayon. During my visit to one of its villages I was asked by a lonely, elderly, sick woman to help repair her house. The old woman's house was indeed in need of urgent repair. But it was as though neither the kolkhoz chairman nor the village soviet chairman nor, finally, her neighbors, although living nearby and seeing her poverty-stricken state in which the helpless woman was living, could see this and they failed to render her the necessary aid and displayed no sympathy.

Human indifference, callousness and an unheeding conscience are intrinsically terrible and amoral. Egoism and indifference must be combatted most implacably and resolutely, wherever and in whatever form they are manifested. Mutual relations between people must be steeped in constant respect and a concerned, objectively just and principle-minded attitude to each other.

At the same time our people should inculcate determination in themselves and display staunchness of character in overcoming difficulties which arise. In such instances there must be no shirking or losing of your temper, no moaning and groaning, no loud complaining. The phenomenon of not seeing the forest for the trees, not noticing the obvious achievements for individual negative incidents, is still quite widespread, unfortunately. Exaggeration of difficulties is sometimes presented as acuteness in posing a question. All this is nothing but everyday demagoguery. It is therefore also amoral!

In brief, we must develop and improve the system of moral education of the population from every aspect.

This task is now being more fully resolved in schools and VUZes and in political enlightenment which have introduced courses into their study plans on the foundations of communist morality and Marxist-Leninist ethics. The propagandization of communist morality has been considerably expanded and strengthened on Belorussian television, where the "Aktenty" moral and ethical university is operating successfully. The 143 specialized people's universities for moral upbringing and education created in the republic in recent years fit well into the education system. Recently the Belorussian CP Central Committee adopted a resolution on further developing people's universities in this sphere, having it in mind to open them in the new academic year in labor collectives having a personnel of more than 5,000 people, and in subsequent years to create such universities in all cities and rayon centers and also in labor collectives with not less than 2,000 workers. In the republic's VUZes the selection of students and preparation of research students in ethics and estetics, social pedagogy and psychology are increasing. [paragraph continues]

A new study program and textbook are being prepared for students of the universities. Teacher training is being organized at the lecturers' correspondence school attached to the Belorussian Znaniye society. In brief, we intend to carry out mass moral education in the republic, in which all ideological organizations and institutions can and must take part.

However, we would certainly be permitting an error and failing to cope with the task set if the task of moral education amounted only to didactics and to exhortations on moral rules and norms. Moral convictions, being a part of social awareness, grow out of a socialist basis and are molded by the whole system of social relations and in the process of people's social practice. As we have already noted once, the moral climate in every labor collective and the conduct and frame of mind of its members are actively affected as important influences by all production, economic and educational activity and socioeconomic practice, the fruitfulness of the work of party and public organizations, and the style and methods of work of their leaders--in brief, by the entire system of relations between people in work and in life.

Hence stems the essential demand on every leader involved in work with people to clearly see the moral aspect of any matter, to constantly and--most important--more solidly analyze and more comprehensively substantiate decisions which are adopted, to involve the broad public in elaborating them, and to objectively approach the examination of the results of their work and all the collecive's activity from this position: What is their moral potential, what are their possible consequences not only in terms of production, but in terms of education? We need only workers of this kind.

Then we will have fewer errors and instances of narrowmindedness and stupid bungling, which people write about to the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the republic's government. In order to insure plan fulfillment the leaders of the Gomel and Minsk administrations of the Zapspetsavtomatika association certified equipment which had not been installed as having been installed and disposed of it illicitly, and paid out bonuses for the sham overfulfillment of plans. The parasitic money, naturally, was paid "cash down," as they say.

Or take this letter from Bobruysk. "I remember the former 'Tovarishch' movie theater, where there was a movie lecture room in the foyer," a resident of that city writes. "Now the foyers of movie theaters have been turned into profit-making places: They have set up automatic games, buffets, where people can down half a liter...."

Communist moral norms and principles cannot be asserted everywhere without a constant and persistent struggle against antisocial phenomena, spiritual impoverishment and its inevitable corollaries--drunkenness, hooliganism and violations of labor discipline. You see, drunkenness--no matter how our journalists and sociologists have handled it--has become a great evil, a serious and by no means merely ethical problem. It is the soil on which two-thirds of the crime and the bulk of hooligan acts, instances of absenteeism and road accidents occur and abnormalities in family relationships arise. Drunkenness is always accompanied by immorality, lack of self-control and social and personal irresponsibility, from which it is sometimes just one step to a serious crime. Those who explain drunkenness solely in terms of shortcomings in the trade or public catering system are simplifying the question to an extreme extent. Drunkenness and alcoholism are primarily a reflection of the poverty of individual people's spiritual culture and a lack of serious interests and knowledge.

And what are we doing to combat drunkenness? Judging from certain publications and articles by doctors, on the whole we admonish drunkards and describe the torments of alcoholism.

If this has to be done, it is only with and for those who as an empty pastime subject themselves to the potential danger of becoming a lush, a drunkard. Other, stricter measures are needed in the struggle against drunkenness and drunkards, namely: The strict condemnation of alcoholics in labor collectives and their compulsory treatment in preventive treatment and labor institutions.

And here we must dwell on a case of irresponsibility and outright lack of discipline by certain leaders. As early as 1975 in a resolution the Belorussian CP Central Committee made it incumbent on the republic's Gosplan, Gosstroy and Ministry of Internal Affairs to plan and on oblispolkoms to construct one preventive treatment and labor institution in each oblast. The years passed, and the necessary measures were not adopted to fulfill this target. Last year, after hearing reports, the Belorussian CP Central Committee warned Comrade F. L. Kokhonov, former chairman of the Belorussian Gosplan, and Comrade V. A. Korol, chairman of the Belorussian Gosstroy. Then Comrade Korol solemnly promised that by 1 September 1978 he would insure the preparation of the necessary design and budget documentation for the construction of preventive treatment and labor institutions. And? Nearly another year has passed, the documentation was somehow prepared late, but to this day nothing has been done to organize these institutions in Mogilevskaya, Vitebskaya and Minskaya oblasts.

It is necessary everywhere, in all labor collectives and residential areas, to create a sharply critical atmosphere of implacability toward instances of abuse of alcoholic liquor and an indulgent attitude toward drunkards and to increase the role in the struggle against them of militia organs, comradely courts, the voluntary people's militia, law and order support points, apartment block and street committees--in a word, all the public.

The problem of combatting drunkenness, like other problems of moral education, probably cannot be resolved without filling prople's leisure hours with sound spiritual interests and serious occupations. Soviet people now have more free time. There are now more than 100 days off a year, and the length of holidays is increasing. For people who spend their free time working on themselves, constantly adding to their knowledge, devoting their leisure to children, the family, art, reading books, various kinds of creativity, physical culture and sport, and tourism, free time becomes a vast, really invaluable asset which spiritually enriches, ennobles and elevates man. We must still further enrich the content and increase the efficiency of free time use, improving the work of clubs and houses of culture, libraries, theaters and movie theaters, and work in residential areas. At the same time labor collectives, trade unions and the Komsomol must display greater concern for those people who still do not see free time as a source of spiritual and moral growth and social riches and waste it anyhow and anywhere, to the harm of themselves and those around them.

Here the problem of molding a harmonious structure of people's material and spiritual requirements and enhancing their moral potential and prestige arises in all its magnitude. Incidentally, without a rise in the standard of requirements it is impossible to root out and consign to the scrapheap of old ways such covert and not always immediately noticeable manifestations of immorality as timeserving, insincerity, parasitism, cynicism, fawning, attempts to obtain more from society than you give and other moral defects.

Let me note immediately that this problem is exceptionally complex. First, as yet we have no precisely worked-out mechanism for stydying human requirements and our sociologists and social scientists are being manifestly slow to elaborate these questions. Second, requirements themselves constitute a complex and sensitive sphere--one might almost say delicate.

For here we are dealing with both the potential and mobility of our economy and also our way of life, ethical and esthetic criteria and a great deal else besides. Furthermore, the multifaceted spectrum of people's spiritual and material requirements is not static. Like all social processes, they develop and change form in a dynamic manner. At one time the need to have a car of your own was rare whereas now it is a requirement. At one time even neckties were rejected, but now fashionable clothes have become the norm and an indicator of good taste and tone.

In a word, the nature of requirements changes, and it is important that this process develops along an ascending line, in a direction which elevates man. All the objective preconditions for this are being created in our country. It is no secret that at the early stages of socialist building Soviet people had to deny themselves a great deal and to concentrate public resources and personal efforts on resolving the top priority tasks--on the things determining the very existence of our state. But under the conditions of developed socialism an appreciable turnabout in the economy toward the increasingly full satisfaction of people's diverse material and cultural requirements has become possible. In other words, as L.I. Brezhnev has stressed, the supreme objective of the party and of socialist production--everything for man's sake and man's benefit--has now moved to the very center of the party's practical policy.

Here are the facts. Last year real per capita incomes compared with 1965 had almost doubled. Incomes in the least affluent families increased. While in 1965 only 4 percent of the population had an income of over R100 a month for each member of the family, in 1977 the figure was 40 percent and by the end of the current 5-year plan about half the population will have this income. Public consumption funds are growing. Payments and benefits from these funds per capita totaled R404 in 1978 as against R182 in 1965. Over half of all payments and benefits are in money form. Per capita consumption of meat, milk and other products is growing. Commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade increased 2.3 times compared with 1965 in comparable prices and housing conditions are improving with every passing year. In brief, every 15 years the Soviet people's living standard is doubling and not every person can dispose rapidly, sensibly, and most expediently of his increased benefits or restructure, as they say, his daily routine in accordance with his new living standard.

That is why there is an increased need to insure that the increase in people's material potential is constantly accompanied by an improvement in their ideological-moral and cultural standard. Otherwise, as the 25th CPSU Congress warned, we may get relapses into philistine, petit bourgeois mentality and a consumerist attitude toward life. To insure this does not happen, ideological workers and all our cadres must have a profound understanding of the essence of the problem, in which two aspects may be seen.

The Soviet way of life and our social morality reject the preaching of poverty and asceticism. Nor is the bourgeois cult of consumption to our taste; and the philistine mentality is alien to us. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has noted, for us material benefits are not an end in themselves but a precondition for the comprehensive development of the individual. It is therefore important for the growth of prosperity to be accompanied by the enrichment of people's inner world and the shaping of a correct understanding of the purpose and point of life.

The danger lies not in things themselves but in a consumerist attitude to life--an attitude which, once it has become a habit and state of mind for the individual consumer, can shift unnoticed from things to people, and often does so, causing a situation in which the consumer begins to regard other people, and even people very close to him, not as individuals but as a means with whose aid he can "win" more benefits and advantages for himself. [paragraph continues]

A certain female student asked a fellow student: "Why don't you take any notice of me? I'm wearing gold worth R600...." Another young man confessed to his girlfriend: "I've lost interest in you.... Why? Well, why did your mother sell her car?!"

Unbridled consumerism frequently leads to such criminal phenomena and actions as corruption and bribe giving and taking. Understandably these constitute a great danger and should be resolutely eliminated through the uncompromising application of Soviet laws and the full force of public opinion. At the same time there must be no pretense that negative and amoral phenomena in life exist in a vacuum or result from some miscalculations in education alone. In economic practice you still encounter, unfortunately, a considerable number of instances of what can be called weighty causes of negative phenomenon. Everybody, for example, is familiar with the unabating "jeans fever," the pursuit of hard to come by and, incidentally, comfortable pants. This cannot be explained in terms of shortcomings in family upbringing or a lack of good taste or tone among a section of people. The point lies elsewhere. Planning organs and light industry enterprises have simply not organized in time production of these necessary commodities for which there is a demand and have caused a situation in which people go in pursuit of them and create a scarcity situation with all the ensuing negative consequences.

It is not enough merely to decry self-seekers, rip-off operators and shady dealers in the field of consumer services. It is also essential to cite the cause of their parasitism. This includes the relative backwardness of the service system and the slow creation of rural municipal services, which we discussed recently at a seminar in Minskaya Oblast.

I am citing these examples of "bottlenecks" so that our economic and ideological workers and all our cadres can reveal shortcomings more fully and in greater depth and prevent the emergence of undesirable negative consequences.

People draw their moral notions and convictions not only from their knowledge of scientific truths and moral and ethical norms but also from their daily experience of life. That is why the moral microclimate in the labor collectives must be sacredly safeguarded and constantly strengthened, why highly moral traditions, customs, and progressive forms of people's daily routine and entire life activity must be supported and developed by every means and amoral ethics and dubious customs must be blocked and rooted out.

Although there is a dialectic interconnection between people's material and spiritual requirements this by no means excludes the possibility of spiritual requirements lagging behind material ones--quite a frequent phenomenon at the personal level. Therefore there is a need to harmonize them. People must be introduced more actively to art and they must be instilled with a taste for the theater, music and the reading of both fiction and political and philosophical literature. It is necessary to strengthen the material base of culture and all ideological work which so far still lags behind the growing requirements. It is all the more intolerable when the funds and quotas earmarked by the state for the construction of new cultural institutions fail to be assimilated from one year to the next here. Funds for cultural purposes created by kolkhozes and sovkhozes remain unused. Belorussian construction ministries and departments, the Ministry of Culture, and local soviet ispolkoms must introduce the necessary order in this matter.

It is no less important to make fuller and more rational use of the potential of existing culture centers. Their level of service could be doubled and even trebled if they were not divided by departmental barriers and separation in their work. [paragraph continues]

Minskaya and Grodnenskaya oblasts have found a good solution to this problem by creating on the territory a specific rural region sociocultural complexes headed by a multiple-specialty, multiple purpose palace or house of culture, which makes it possible to constantly enrich the content of work with people and their leisure and to satisfy more fully the population's diverse interests and sociocultural requirements.

In general the sphere of the manifestation of morality is extremely broad and covers the economy and culture, people's labor and daily life and their entire social and private life. And questions of moral education must be resolved incomparably more persistently, keenly, skillfully and thoroughly than has been the case so far.

IV. Controlling the Ideological Process Skillfully, Improving the Style and Methods of Educational Activity

Comrades: The CPSU Central Committee resolution pays great attention to the need to further intensify party influence in the spiritual sphere, assert a truly Leninist style of ideological work and insure the practical implementation of the principle of comprehensiveness in all links and at all levels of the ideological-eucational process and the improvement of the training of agitation and propaganda cadres.

The significance of the factor of the quality of any type of labor, which as grown immeasurably under present-day conditions, sharply enhances the role of the knowledge, professional skill, efforts and responsibility of each individual worker in resolving our common tasks. This wholly applies above all to those directly engaged in people's education.

That is why the cadre organizational aspects of the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party are now assuming extraordinary significance and urgency. We cannot fail to be pleased that in insuring this key position the republic's party organization has been in what we may call a winning situation since the CPSU Central Committee adopted the well-known resolution on Belorussia's ideological cadres. It led us to the broader assertion in party political and educational practice of an approach which, as I have already noted, is predetermined not by short-term considerations but by a firm link with problems of a long-term order, the desire to act with a view to the future, with the maximum possible consideration of its requirements regarding the standard of our present work. Only by being clearly oriented can political education work be steeped in a mobilizing principle and insure the continuity of the creative quest in the advance towards new heights in the implementation of the ideological-moral ideals of communism.

In the course of implementing the CPSU Central Committee decision we succeeded in training and deploying the majority of agitation and propaganda cadres for work in precisely this vein. Party committees and organizations have thus already created a good reserve of completed work which will undoubtedly promote the successful fulfillment of the new, highly crucial tasks set by the party in the document we are discussing.

We now have a large detachment of competent ideological workers with a sufficiently high standard of theoretical, professional and methodological training, who know how to act in the dynamic rhythm of our time.

At the same time, anyone who is inclined to think that the marked positive changes in the ideological cadres' qualitative make-up are grounds for complacency is making a profound error.

Far from everything has been done. We cannot yet say that people suited to their function are working in all echelons of our agitation and propaganda apparatus or in the institutions of culture and education. [paragraph continues]

A considerable proportion of these people continue to work without creative inspiration, within the framework of obsolete practice and are incapable of grasping sensitively and promptly new processes and tendencies in the spiritual life of society or of making the very rich arsenal of means, forms and methods of ideological influence on the masses accord with them.

As for the ideological subdivisions of party committees, particularly gorkoms and raykoms, proper cadre stability has still not been achieved. In addition, almost one-third of those who are transferred, analysis shows, are replaced for so-called "other reasons." Such a vague formula frequently conceals the real reason--the professional unsuitability of a worker whose past promotion was consequently an error. And that means that obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must act with greater responsibility and principle-mindedness here.

We are all well aware of the breadth of the range of application of the ideological cadres' forces. In the interests of the matter it is very important not to transform them, as frequently happens, into "multiple machine operators," and not to overload them with the execution of functions which are not theirs. Moreover, it is essential to create a situation and conditions under which they can carry out their direct functions competently, creatively and fruitfully.

At the same time I should like to stress that the improvement of ideological educational work is a concern not only for ideological cadres. As the resolution notes, this is a paramount task of all the party organizations. An analysis of practice in the light of this proposition attests that in recent years the range of questions of political educational activity examined at Belorussian Obkom, Gorkum and Raykom plenums, by their bureaus and at meetings of communists has expanded considerably. This has made it possible, on the one hand, to insure a collective quest and more effective solution for specific problems of education and on the other to enhance the responsibility of the leaders of all categories and every communist for the state of work with people.

Everyone knows that to examine a particular question and outline a range of steps and measures is only the start. The main thing is the persistent implementation of what has been outlined. It is precisely here, in the components of the executive mechanism, that some party committees and organizations fail to display the necessary activeness, efficiency and purposefulness. Indeed, where are these to be found if all energy is frequently exhausted at the state of the preparation and holding of various sessions and conferences, the elaboration of resolutions, plans and other documents, on which a tremendous amount of energy and valuable time is still spent.

In some places the process of producing various pieces of paper and fussing about with sessions are made out to be a rich equivalent to actual work which has not yet actually begun. This worthless style is manifested particularly graphically in the traditional scheme of the activity of some party committees in implementing directive aims in the sphere of people's education. Two stages are clearly discernible here. At the first stage there is a discussion of a document, extensive measures and working plans and all sorts of recommendations and guidelines are compiled and conferences and cadre briefings follow. At the second stage which, as a rule, follows immediately after the first, information on what has been done begins to be assembled from top to bottom. But practical work on the spot, in the primary party organizations and collectives, has essentially not been launched.

In such cases the intensity of "summit-level" work, if I may use the expression, within a narrow circle of the aktiv acts as the main criterion of the state of political education activity. [paragraph continues]

A formal, bureaucratic approach toward ideological practice in flagrant contradiction to the principles of efficiency and quality is thus engendered and, moreover, encouraged. This is precisely where deviation from real problems of economic, political and spiritual life and questions of work with people begins.

All our cadres must firmly understand an obvious fact revealed by life: The increasingly large-scale and resolute transfer of the main center of gravity of party organizations' idological activity to the places where our people work, study, live and rest is one of the main avenues for the improvement of the system of communist education and the enhancement of its fruitfulness. We must proceed from this premise and we must be guided by it.

It is pleasing that there are many leaders of party committees and soviet and economic organs and labor collective chiefs in the republic for whom this position has become an inalienable element of their managerial practice. And this always produces good results.

I think that it is no secret to anyone that, for instance, the standard of political work depends to a great degree on the personality of the party committee first secretary, enterprise director, construction side chief or kolkhoz chairman. Their interested attitude toward problems of education and peoples' needs and requests produces a creative impulse and inspiring guidelines for the entire leadership apparatus.

Many of our gorkom and raykom first secretaries, and above all, Comrades G.G. Bartoshevich (Minsk Belorussian Gorkom), N.I. Popova (Lide Belorussian Gorkom), M.A. Machulenko (Narovlyanskiy Belorussian Raykom), N.S. Nerad, (Leninskiy Belorussian Raykom in Minski), and many others are distinguished by the ability and desire to make full use of the ideological potential of the committees they head both in educating the working people and in resolving the tasks of economic and cultural building. They themselves take a direct part in living work with people and for this they enjoy deserved authority among them.

One of them--Comrade M.A. Machulenko--was recently described in a letter from A.M. Malukho, a participant in the Great Patriotic War, who was deeply touched and moved by his solicitous, cordial attitude toward people. This quality of M.A. Machulenko's also describes his style of work in the best possible way. An experienced and skilled organizer, he constantly investigates questions of ideological education work and for all his involvement in other problems finds time for regular meetings with rural workers and for constant businesslike communication with the rayon's ideological aktiv.

It must be noted with satisfaction that we are becoming increasingly rich in cadres with this mode of action and thought who possess the art of creating a favorable moral and psychological atmosphere for people's highly productive labor, a good social mood and a high degree of optimism in life.

This approach should characterize the style and methods of work of each of our economic leaders. Unfortunately, some of them deviate from educational questions under the plausible pretext of being excessively occupied with production business and administrative work. There is no doubt that this is one of their most important official duties. But it is precisely one among others.

Any socialist enterprise comprises not only and not primarily machine tools, machinery and technology but above all a collective of people; not only for the production of output, but also for the "production" of improved norms of human life and intercourse. So the one cannot be separated from the other. [paragraph continues]

It is incumbent on every leader to successfully fulfill equally the function of production organizer and the function of educator of the collective, to be able to regard the person as central and to predict, as has already been said, not only the economic consequences but also the moral consequences of his decisions and actions. People follow such a leader. He is capable of maintaining a high creative mood and inspiring them to resolve great and complex tasks.

As a rule leading cadres who go in the opposite direction and isolate themselves in purely administrative and economic matters turn out in the end to be unconvincing leaders in every respect.

This was the lot of S.Ye. Khomyahov, former chief of the No 4 Baranovich automobile combine, for instance. Relying wholly on the power of disciplinary measures, last year alone he imposed various penalties on 400 workers out of 1,500. In his administrative ardor S.Ye. Khomyahov sometimes contrived to use a single decree to impose penalties on several dozen people simultaneously. In the course of a few months this zealous administrator imposed 10 sanctions, including 5 severe penalties, on one young specialist who had just arrived from his institute.

This unseemly practice on a wholesale footing, which met with no resistance from the party, trade union or Komsomol organizations, led to the flight of workers and specialists from the enterprises, and the breakdown of labor discipline, which in turn has resulted in the combine failing to meet state plans for the past 3 years. Here it is hard to count up the undoubtedly enormous moral harm caused to the collective by the arbitrariness of the pseudoleader. And for a long while the Baranovich Belorussian Gorkom and the Belorussian Ministry of the Automotive Industry adopted the stance of detached onlookers with respect to the quirks of this inveterate bureaucrat.

Life experience teaches that a person, even a good specialist, who is incapable of managing his own deeds and actions and using power reasonably must in no event be allowed into the management of the collective. If such a thing does happen, that means that errors are permitted in resolving cadre questions and the party principles of the selection, promotion and deployment of people in accordance with their political and business qualities are being violated. In the people's wisdom this formula is presented in a striking aphorism: It is not the place which colors the man, but the man who colors the place. We must show concern for insuring that a mandate to the right of administration and leadership is received by those and only those who will not simply be occupying a post but are capable of confidently advancing any task entrusted to them by their knowledge and selfless labor and the zealous and responsible execution of their official duties.

At the same time every leader must be helped to enrich the content of his production and educational practice with the principles and features of the Leninist style of activity and to form the desire to work to the highest standard always and everywhere and in such a way as to yield the highest results.

Here it is very important to arm our cadres with profound knowledge of the methods of effective leadership and administration. Here, of course, it is impossible to provide formulas for all contingencies in life. However, there are generally acknowledged, as it were, universal conditions for fruitful work. I have in mind in particular the need to understand that truth which moves us forward--on the one hand the orientation toward everything positive and above all the broad exploitation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and on the other the fearless exposure and critical analysis of shortcomings and resolutely overcoming them.

At every stage of communist building we are faced with new, increasingly large-scale and complex problems requiring fundamentally new, bold solutions. Remarkable ideas, the most modern scientific and technical developments and gold seams advanced experience are born in mass creative questing, which taken together put our entire social transforming practice on a completely different level with regard to its potential.

Firm reliance on this priceless asset is the very first and most real precondition for scaling new, loftier heights both in the development of material production and in the spiritual sphere of our life. Hence stems the task of radically improving the system of propagating and introducing the achievements of science, technology and advanced experience. This improvement must proceed above all in the direction of a sharp increase in its efficiency and effectiveness. The role of the republic's press, television and radio and our oral propaganda is very great here. So far their approach to this question contains a great deal of dilettantism and little efficiency, purposefulness and militancy. They frequently do not go beyond the framework of praising particular progressive work methods and slogans appealing for their adoption. The entire chain management and control from the beginning of their inception to their full introduction into mass practice is far from always kept under strict control.

Many examples of this could be cited. Let me turn to sociocultural complexes in the countryside, which I have already mentioned. Their main point and undoubted merit lies in using, irrespective of their departmental association, the material base and creative potential of all cadres of various organizations and institutions for work with people in accordance with their interests.

The effect in this case is obvious. In addition it is achieved without any additional financial and other expenses by means of organizational decisions--the bold destruction of interdepartmental barriers hindering the rational use of all available assets and resources in the comprehensive organization of the educational process.

But despite all the obvious value and promise of this experience, it is still not being properly disseminated in the republic. Some workers are simply afraid to abandon their habitual but outdated practices and are reluctant to assume a certain share of the extra worry and responsibility associated with the creation of sociocultural complexes.

What can be said about the conservative position to which some of our cadres adhere with respect to advanced experience? In the words of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, "anyone who is afraid or in awe of innovation delays development. We must proceed from this premise in assessing cadres."

The dialetic of socialist life is such that the constant assertion of new positive principles in it is at the same time an uncompromising struggle against negative manifestations. The party forms in the working people an actively effective intolerance to various shortcomings, because their eradication is one very important condition of accelerating our society's socioeconomic and spiritual progress.

The interests of the cause demand insistently that we expose shortcomings more keenly, analyze them critically, profoundly and in a businesslike way and seek out the causes which give rise to them, so as to pull them up by the very roots, as they say.

Unfortunately by no means do all our party organizations and cadres demonstrate such an aggressive spirit.

Moreover, it is not so very rare, as has been noted, for us to encounter, first, attempts to show the results of economic activity one-sidely, that is, to overemphasize successes and at the same time keep quiet about omissions. Concealing shortcomings, as if hiding them behind positive achievements, whether intentionally or unintentionally, presents the real situation in a false light and weakens, even undermines people's faith in the advances which have really been achieved.

Second, considerable expenses of a material and moral nature are caused by the complacent attitude of a certain proportion of leaders toward shortcomings which sometimes becomes a desire to somehow protect and defend those who are directly to blame. Complacency, metaphorically speaking, is the midwife of shortcomings and the nutrient medium for their reproduction. That is why it is as unsightly and dangerous as the shortcomings themselves. And we are called upon to fight both of these evils.

Third, we still encounter many instances of incorrect reaction by individual comrades to just critical statements by the press aimed at them. Unfortunately they do not immediately set about rectifying the shortcomings which have been permitted but take offense, strike an attitude and enter into a fruitless struggle against the editorial boards of the newspapers, trying to find any inaccuracy, however small, in their publications and make their counterclaim on that basis.

We must agree quite definitely, once and for all: An incorrect attitude to criticism must be counted as unpartyminded, politically harmful behavior with all the ensuing consequences.

The interests of successfully resolving the tasks of communist building demand that we openly discuss the most topical questions of our public life and that we do not smooth over or bypass the complexities of the processes taking place and of unresolved problems which exist in real life. Only then can we form among our people a sober assessment and correct understanding of shortcomings, which is the condition for a correct attitude toward them and the guarantee of overcoming them. We must bear in mind V.I. Lenin's precept that "by analyzing yesterday's errors we thereby learn to avoid errors today and tomorrow." (Complete Collected Works, Vol 34, p 257).

Of course, the development of constructively and creatively oriented criticism has nothing in common with the recurrences which creep in from time to time of the deliberate exaggeration and hyperbolization of individual shortcomings and difficulties and the pessimistic interpretation of our reality. In particular, concern is caused by a certain one-sided orientation in the repertory of the Belorussian A.M. Gorkiy state Russian DRA theater and the shift in emphasis in some of its production decisions.

Each of our people must remember Lenin's warning that building communism is a very complex, very difficult, very prolonged process. In our society at the present stage of its maturity alongside the really great achievements and dominant positive processes there are also problems still awaiting resolution.

And only some nihilistic milksop of a demagogic bent, at odds with commonsense and clearly suffering from social colorblindness could fix his eyes on some negative episode and lose all capacity for seeing the main, predominantly positive side of our life, with its profound humanism.

All the problems we are discussing and big and small questions of ideological work demand a well thought out, systematic approach. And here it is difficult to overestimate the significance of scientifically substantiated planning of educational activity, which is at the basis of the coordination of efforts of party, soviet, public and economic organizations in resolving the tasks of ideological, political, labor and moral tempering of all population groups. [paragraph continues]

And although we have taken a definite step forward in this direction in recent years, many party committees approach the elaboration of plans in a superficial, formal way. Long-term planning is carried out without a profound preliminary analysis of the dynamics of ideological situations, it sometimes does not go beyond the mechanical sum of uncoordinated measures, means are often substituted for ends and forms of work for content. Questions of party organizational activity, economic leadership and the development of social relations are sometimes elaborated in isolation from ideological educational problems.

To be free of these errors and omissions we must be firmly aware that the main essence of planning lies in determining purposeful principles and strictly concrete ideological tasks and in choosing the most effective ways, means and methods of achieving them unconditionally.

And for this it is necessary without fail to study public opinion deeply and comprehensively and always know for certain what is the moral, psychological and ideological atmosphere in the labor collective, city or rayon. Concrete sociological research should be a great help in this. Unfortunately its organization right now cannot be considered satisfactory. This research is carried out unsystematically, sometimes without proper methodological foundations and simply as a tribute to fashion, and often contains nothing new but only persuades us of what we already knew.

We have the right to count on a more responsible attitude by scientific collectives toward resolving this urgent question and on their constant, effective assistance to practical workers on the ideological front.

In this connection I would like to stress that as a whole the enhancement of effectiveness and quality in ideological-political work is impossible without consolidating the alliance of social scientists and practical workers. We have definite experience here. In the past, in accordance with a Belorussian CP Central Committee decision, several groups were formed from qualified specialists who, together with the party obkoms, were to study several topical questions of applied science in the sphere of ideological activity. The Minskiy and Brestskiy Belorussian obkoms which together with the departments of social sciences of the V.I. Lenin Belorussian State University and the V.V. Kuybyshev Institute of the National Economy have brought the development of the planned topics to its logical conclusion--the introduction of a number of important recommendations and proposals into ideological practice--and are coping well with this task. Unfortunately, other oblasts have stopped halfway--they have limited themselves to practical-scientific conferences.

It is essential to expand and intensify the cooperation between the party committees and scientific institutions in studying the most complex and significant problems of education, remembering that education is a science, and a complex science at that, and also an art. Our philosophers, sociologists, historians, teachers and psychologists must elaborate questions of the theory and practice of communist education more actively and ponder in depth the experience of ideological work at the present stage.

Insuring the comprehensive organization of the entire educational processis a most basic question for the party organizations. Unfortunately it has to be noted that for many people a "comprehensive approach" has become merely a hackneyed phrase which they manipulate uncontrolled, without the necessary penetration to the profound essence of a problem's content. [paragraph continues]

Turning to the terminology to which I resorted at the 12th Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenum, I believe it is necessary to stress again that we still deal quite often with "disassembled comprehensiveness," with attempts to shut it off on a restricted level within the narrow framework of ideological work, and moreover only on the basis of individual means and types of agitation and propaganda, training, cultural enlightenment or information activity. It is time to abandon this practice.

From the viewpoint of managerial practice a comprehensive approach is designed to insure the harmonious combination and mutually supplementary nature of the potential of all spheres of education and the means and methods inherent in them for forming an individual of the communist type. Any component of the structure of the educational process taken individually has a meaning and can fulfill its function only when it is really linked to the other elements of this process.

Only with this understanding of the problem and only with this practical orientation of our cadres can there be any question of filling with truly real content the idea of comprehensiveness--that universal principle of a Marxist-Leninist approach to analysis and to the revolutionary alternation enrichment of social reality.

To the credit of many party committees, they act in a creative, innovative way on this plane. I have in mind in particular the experience of the Minsk Gorkom in creating an organizational system for a comprehensive approach to education in the labor collective. It was recently examined and assessed positively in the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. Its essence is the active involvement of every leader and specialist, every communist and virtually all public organizations and enterprise services including production administration enterprises in the formation of the new person.

I think that extensive borrowing of the Minsk people's experience will make it possible to considerably increase the effectiveness of political educational work in its main and most mass area, where success in the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee resolution will be decided--the primary party organization and the labor collective.

In a word, all those taking part in the ideological education process--from the school to the academy institute, from the kolkhoz team leader to minister, from agitation worker to republican newspaper, from primary party organization to the Belorussian CP Central Committee--have an enormous field for the application of creative efforts and innovative quests for the effective solution of ideological tasks and for the qualitative improvement of the system designated to form a comprehensively developed individual according with the potential and requirements of mature socialism.

Allow me to express the conviction that, in marching to meet the 26th CPSU Congress, the party committees and organizations, communists, workers on the ideological front and all our cadres will act vigorously and enterprisingly in the mainstream and spirit of the propositions and directives of the CPSU Central Committee resolution and will launch truly militant, purposeful work to fulfill it and insure the further enhancement of fruitful results from the entire sphere of education and the successful solution of the tasks of communist building. (prolonged applause)